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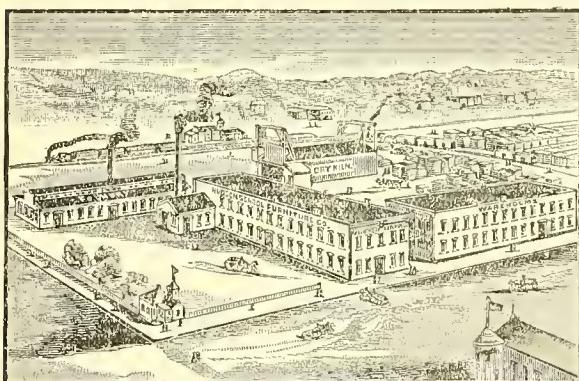
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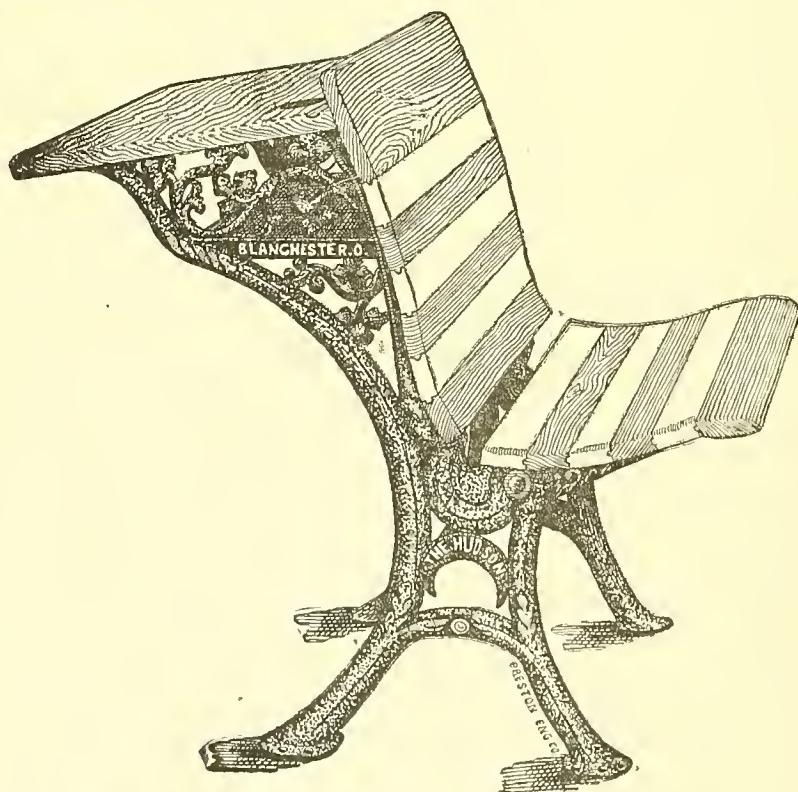
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## ROME'S LEADERS DURING THE GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY D. J. EVANS.

The Roman Republic began to acquire abiding strength with the battle of Mt. Gaurus, and her decline dates from her victory at Zama. The difficulties which she overcame in the Samnitic, Pyrrhic and Punic wars so developed her strength, that the rest of the world was an easy conquest. Her career of Italian wars and foreign conquests, nevertheless, so taxed her powers, that, like the feats of a professional athlete, it brought her to premature decrepitude. It was the rapid march of a vigorous state to that doom which ends all human institutions.

These wars brought about in many respects, a change so complete that the Rome which turned her arms to succor the Greeks against Macedon was very unlike the Rome, which, six generations before, had helped the Italian Greeks against the Samnites. A popular assembly had become an oligarchy. Equality of rights and of fortunes had given way to disparity of wealth and privilege. Wealth came not as the fruit of industry and frugality. Privilege was not the reward of merit or of service, but both wealth and privilege were the harvest gathered by the means which official position furnished.

Private virtue declined from frugality and morality into excessive luxury and licentiousness.

The ethical religion of the generation

of Decius degenerated into the genial and sensuous worship of Greece, or, worse still, into the indifference and disbelief born of Hellenism.

The wisdom of Fabius and Dentatus and Fabricius, by clemency to the vanquished and honourable dealing with allies, had so firmly united to Rome the Italian cities which she had either conquered or allied to herself, that Hannibal, afterwards, with all his sagacity and with the prestige of Trasymene and Cannae, could not sever them from their allegiance. After Zama, however, conquered Carthage was tortured, friendly Greece and Rhodes were deceived, goaded into war and plundered. The boasted liberty which made Rome mistress of the Peninsula, on crossing the Strait to Sicily, appears the despotic sway of the proconsular tyrant.

This change was due partly to the character of the Roman people themselves, and partly to the peculiar trend that was given to Roman institutions in the beginning of the Republic. In this career from small to great, and from lofty virtue to degraded coarseness, very little was accomplished by mighty leaders, working with a purpose. Law and precedent levelled individuals to a uniform mediocrity, but made the citizens collectively as resistless as the sea. Their leaders during their wars of conquests were also more like the helpless crest which the wave drives forward than a force which impels the wave itself.

The frequent changes in magistrates and the sharing of authority by colleagues made impossible that concentration of endeavor which is essential to the development of greatness.

The fundamental law of the State was a series of precedents. To follow precedent became, therefore, necessary in public life. It became also an immovable barrier in the path to greatness. Roman law made it impossible in early days for a citizen to acquire enough wisdom to plan a great project. It forbade also authority

long enough to complete a work that required talent to plan and energy to execute. Military career was the only career for the citizens, and even in this course, not until public distress had crushed factiousness and envy, was the road to greatness open.

The censors, too, classified the people so that aspiring tempers could not get the suffrage of the masses to reach the goal of their ambition.

Turbulent factiousness kept greatness in hiding, for true greatness thrives only in tranquility. Even the dictator who possessed undivided and unlimited authority could not rise to greatness. The suspicion with which innovations and new plans were regarded hampered all his efforts to rise above his predecessors and contemporaries.

The Roman mind, also like the state consciousness, was too practical and narrow in its views to trust anything new that did not assure immediate success. The grossly palpable and the tried were safe undertakings, but they stunted growth.

Had greatness been possible yet records could not in those days be impartial. The historian magnified the deeds of his patrician patron and those of his patron's family. Their skirmishes became battles, and all the battles ended in victory for the patron, while his defeats are not recorded. The truly great achievements of a plebeian, or of a patron's rival, on the other hand, would either be depreciatingly mentioned or left unnoticed altogether.

The men were few who rose to eminence in the Republic during its career of conquest; and further, the conflict of Rome with her enemies did not develop the same degree of power in her leaders as was subsequently developed by the conflict between the Roman leaders themselves. Pyrrhus did not meet a Pompeius, nor did Hannibal meet a Julius Caesar.

But what are the marks of great generals? What did the men called great in Roman history do that other men of their time would not have done? To grasp the situation as it really is, to recognize the central difficulties and pass by incidental obstacles, are marks of the great strategist. Then he who quickly forms new plans and executes them with swiftness and courage is the great general,

The conditions essential to develop individual greatness were favorable for the first time in the second war with Samnium. Before this Rome's horizon was limited and her ambition was unable to reach beyond the boundaries of Latium. But in the Samnitic wars the world seemed to expand before Rome as she ascended to higher levels of power, and a few great men were developed by her conflicts with the rest of Italy and with her near neighbors across the sea. Among the few we ought to give a place to Fabius, often called Maximus; for, after making allowance for the exaggerations of literary clients, still the character of Fabius was above Roman mediocrity. The Roman imagination had peopled the Cimmerian Forest with dreadful monsters, so that the forests had been, from the beginning, a safe barrier against the Romans. To lead the superstitious legionaries through it into Central Eresia, as Fabius once did, required elevated courage.

This same war revealed another character, who, in a broader field, might have rivalled Cæsar in greatness. Appius Claudius originated the plan of uniting to Rome by means of excellent roads, the strategic points in various parts of Italy. This at once lifts him above the monotonous mediocrity to which Rome, then, endeavored to hold down her men of talents. Such were the remote benefits of this policy that it stamps Appius as a genius, a rare factor in Roman history.

It was his misfortune to be of the haughty Claudian gens, and to possess himself a repelling temper. Had a client sung his praises, his fame probably would have been greater.

We can not account for the historic eminence of Fabricius and Curius Dentatus except on the ground of native strength. The one being a plebeian and the other a provincial, patrician envy would have crushed the one, and Roman exclusiveness would have suppressed the other, had they not manifested unusual worth as general and diplomat. If, in the days of Hannibal, the Roman historian had reviewed the work of these four men in cementing the colonies and tribes of Italy to Rome, it is possible that history would have conceded to them still greater fame. It was the work of these men that chiefly prevented Hannibal,

after Trasymene and Cannae, from venturing to attack Rome herself.

In the Punic wars there were demands for still greater men. But the unwise policy of frequently changing commanders delayed the appearance of men possessing great powers. When at last a small number of men did rise to whom history has given a page, nevertheless we feel that Alexander's epigram at the tomb of Achilles may be applied to even the least famous of them, as well as to the greatest. Contemporaries and Roman writers have given Scipio Africanus and Fabius Cunctator the leading place among the great generals of the Second Punic war.

That Scipio was great can not be gainsaid; but that history has assigned to him a place higher than facts permit is, at least, a subject to be considered. No doubt he possessed tact to win the confidence of his followers and to gain new friends. Yet, undoubtedly, his career in Spain and Africa while proconsul in the former country is greatly exaggerated. The temper, which, according to Livy, he showed when seeking the Senate's decree to carry the war into Africa, does not, as a rule, belong to towering greatness. It was shrewdness and not greatness that he evinced in devising a constitutional plan to raise and equip an army and transport it to Africa without the usual consent of the Senate or people. His victory at Zama would have been possible to any of his consular predecessors of the dozen years before.

At Zama the great Carthaginian did not have an army trained by himself. The victors of Trasymene were old or dead, and the lines were filled with fresh and ill-trained recruits, or with veterans ignorant of their commander.

Military skill is often displayed in defeat as well as in victory, and on the other hand, lack of skill is made manifest by incomplete victory. That Hannibal's army was not annihilated at Zama, when Masinissa arrived, as the Roman army had been at Cannae, proves the incompetency of Scipio.

Hannibal who had so often struck crushing blows, as the enemy turned its back, knew how to guard against these blows when struck at himself.

It may be argued that the lines of Ennius, made historic by Cicero's quoting, give greater prominence to the cautious

policy of Fabius than it deserved. Its prudence was exaggerated by two incidents which were fortuitous rather than designed by Fabius. Had Minucius been replaced by Marcellus, and had Casilinum followed immediately after Hannibal's escape from Campania, the "delay" of Fabius would have sunk into oblivion. Fabius had no great claim to be the "Shield of Rome." After Trasymene, the excellent walls of Rome, manned by citizens trained for war from childhood, sent the sagacious Hannibal eastward. After Cannae, two circles of colonies, two hundred miles of country held by faithful allies, showed the keen sighted Carthaginian that a march upon the city would be a march to his own ruin. Faithful dependents, patriotic and warlike citizens, and staunch walls were the "Shield of Rome."

In the Second Punic war the Romans began to realize that they did not, either as a state or individuals, possess genius equal to that of the Barcidæ. They therefore began to favor their men of talent. Of the few who possessed talent in a higher degree than their fellows, Marcellus perhaps was first, and second, stood Nero, who made the march of the ages from Apulia to the Metaurus and back again, before the keen-eyed Hannibal had discovered his plans. Nero displayed magnanimity born of patriotism when he marched north and joined his forces to those of his rival and colleague whom he hated with genuine patrician hate.

Although much of Livy's account of victories gained over Hannibal by Marcellus and by Nero is a vain boast, although the Romans did not once in Italy conquer Hannibal in a pitched battle, yet it remains probable that the prowess and skill of these two men did more, comparatively, to bring final success to Rome, than those of any other commander. One revived the Roman courage after Cannae, and the other was the chief instrument in making the decisive battle of the war a victory for Rome.

The plebeian Flaminus, the chief Roman in command at Trasymene, was but one remove from genius. Had his military training been equal to his native sagacity, and had he met Hannibal at Zama, the record of his career would have excelled that of Publius Scipio Africanus. His great military road, and

his division of the Gallic land, show a progressive statesman. His avoiding the ritual on taking the command of the army at Arretium was due to his superior knowledge of patrician unrelenting hate. To have taken the omens *rite* would have brought upon his head, by patrician priestcraft, a greater ruin.

There are reasons for ascribing to Varro, greater degree of praise than historians generally ascribe.

The great carnage of Cannae has always tended to obscure his real worth and power. He fought a battle against the advice of his colleague, and this very battle turned out to be the most overwhelming defeat that the Romans suffered during the Republic. Varro himself escaped, while his colleague lost his life, yet Varro was afterward continued in power with thirty thousand men under his command, to hold important strategic points, or to make expeditions that required tact and courage. This power, too, was conferred on him by a senate largely composed of big personal enemies.

We are told that on his return to the city, these senators, always full of patrician hate and envy, advanced to meet Varro, and officially thanked him that "he had not despaired of the State." The senate was not in the habit of condescending to acts of this kind. True, the gravity of the general condition of the war required unusual acts, nevertheless this does not fully account for the senate's act. No doubt in this way they reassured the common people somewhat, and revived the general courage, yet they would have found other ways more suitable for this, had they not also deemed it their duty to pay tribute to Varro's greatness. We are not told what he said or did to express his confidence in his country. Probably he was the first to discover, or the one who saw most clearly, that a nation's institutions are stronger than any one man's genius, however fertile in *consilia* it might be. Or, again, Varro's strength was so great that the senate judged it wise to compliment the popular hero—the hero of a defeat. It is so unusual to allot Varro a high place that few words ought to be said further, to show the ground for this view of his fame. We must remember that Polybius is our source of information regarding the defeat of Cannae, and that he was a

favorite of the Emilii. In Cannae, on one side was one of the most skillful commanders, if not the most skillful in all history. He was at the head of an army well disciplined, accustomed to victory, and deeply devoted to its general.

The army, the officers, and the general in chief had occupied their present relations to each other for years. On the other side, the general was chief, as the result of rotation in office. Chief commander, the other officers, and the soldiers, did not for any length of time retain without change their mutual relation. The commander yesterday, obeyed today. The planner of a campaign seldom rounded up his plans, for he must give way to his colleague or successor in office. The temper of the soldiers, rather than the deliberate judgment of the general, often determined when and where and how to give battle. Had Polybius written for the Varrones, he might have claimed that defeat resulted from Paulus' failure to restrain the legionaries, but allowed them to drive the enemy back, until what had been a convex curve in the Carthaginian line became a concave curve, and the two eager Romans became wedged in between the wings of the Carthaginians.

Varro is censured for some things that would have been pointed out, if he had been victorious, to prove his great skill as commander.

The victory at Trasymene and Trebbia had been secured by the Numidian cavalry. The Romans were weak in this arm, and no army is stronger than its weakest part. It was to this weakest, but most important arm, that Varro gave his personal attention on that fatal day. He is censured for arranging his line so that his men faced the sun and the strong southeast wind which whirled the dust into their eyes. But, other things being equal, he had shown more wisdom than Hannibal. According to common tactics there was nothing to commend the position of Hannibal. In case of repulse, a river cut off his retreat. His center was unduly extended and weak. None but a genius, conscious of his own skill and confident of the steadiness of his men, would have chosen his position, and essayed the crescent line and consequent retreat to a recentering angle.

Varro's work that day was that of a great man; and his mistakes were errors

rather than blunders, and due to lack of military training and of experience in warfare rather than to lack of ability; and the defeat was due to Hannibal's genius and his Numidian horse, more than to Varro's incompetency.

He had not deliberately chosen his rank as Hannibal had secured his, but he had been elevated to it by the vote of his civilian countrymen, and was forced by the turbulent impatience of citizen and soldier to meet, with inadequate cavalry, a military genius of the first rank, handling with consummate skill, on a favorable field, the stanchest troops of ancient times.

After all, Scipio and Marcellus and the others rose but little above a host of contemporaries in wisdom and intellectual strength. Fortunately, however, the collective force of the State supplemented the power of individuals, and Rome found herself mistress of the world before she could boast of great men.

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#### TACITUS AS A HISTORIAN.

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BY CHARLES W. SUPER.

Comparatively few persons who read history know what a small proportion of it is trustworthy. It is hardly putting the case too strongly to say that only within the present century have historians honestly tried to set forth the truth in their pages. To this statement the ancient Greeks form almost the sole exception. Many of them wrote with a proper conception of history and they put before their readers a record of events as they occurred—the evil deeds of men as well as the good. But they like all others were dependent upon the material within their reach, and, like all human beings, they had their prejudices, so that they often relate occurrences in a way that we know they could not have taken place. Notwithstanding the contempt so frequently expressed by the Romans for the Greeks they not only pattern after them in almost every form of literature, but borrowed from them with unsparing hand the materials for the history of their own country until a long time after the Christian era.

The modern student of oriental history soon becomes convinced that he can hardly take a step with the feeling that he is on secure ground. Livy in his great work on

the history of Rome naively tells his readers that he is more concerned to record in eloquent language the reputed deeds of his countrymen than to relate truthfully what they actually did. Tacitus, who ranks with the half dozen great historians of the world, does not hesitate to say that in his accounts of the wars of the Romans he passes in silence over their greatest defeats and the number of their slain. Generally speaking it is only the briefest annals that can be relied on. Whenever these are manifested by the historian the record becomes more or less hinged by his personal or national prejudice and is unreliable. But we know that even annals often contain only half truths. Monarchs and commanders of armies never failed to make due record of their victories, but they kept silent about their defeats, or colored them to gratify personal vanity. National pride as felt by almost every Roman sanctioned, in fact, almost compelled, the same course even for those also were not participants in the events they narrate. When both personal and national pride demanded of the historian that he should say little or nothing about those events that reflected no credit upon his government we can not wonder that history is much oftener a record of what did not take place than of what did. Roman History, after it becomes worthy of this name, is chiefly compiled from annals preserved either in writing or in memory by the leading families; and they partake of the character of all such records; they are intended to enhance the reputation of the house. As a matter of course the personal record of the ignoble and unworthy was only preserved so far as it was necessary to genealogical continuity. But aside from the desire to tell the truth there is the question of the ability to do so. We need only to read the various accounts of many of the important events of the late Rebellion to become convinced that hardly two witnesses see the same occurrence alike. An important judicial trial teaches the same lesson. Not unfrequently two or more eye-witnesses flatly contradict one another. In such cases who is to judge which one tells the truth, or even which one comes nearest the truth? Or suppose that an occurrence has taken place that is recorded by a single witness. We have to believe his account or admit that we are wholly in the dark. Or suppose that half a dozen witnesses of an occurrence

have recorded it, but only one record has survived entire, and just enough of the rest to throw it into confusion. A great deal of what is known as Ancient History and as Mediæval History is based upon a single record the truthfulness of which we have no means of knowing. Our only corrective is the probabilities or improbabilities of the situation. But as has already been indicated, it is not those persons alone who are unwilling to tell the truth that mislead us; many with the fullest intention to do so can not. Their minds are so constituted that figments of the imagination are constantly commingling with reminiscence and they fail to distinguish between the two classes of mental phenomena — that is, between what they saw or heard and what they supposed they saw or heard. All who lack scientific training, but particularly children and the illiterate — probably more than nine-tenths of our contemporaries and a much larger proportion of those who have lived before us — habitually mix up in indistinguishable confusion precepts and concepts, to the serious detriment of truth. Most persons are born with glasses more or less colored on their mental eyes, and they can not see objects as they are, no matter how hard they may be. When record is made of an occurrence immediately after it takes place there is comparatively little danger of the confusion we have pointed out; yet this is so rarely done that it is hardly worth taking into account.

Again, a large majority of the readers of history and biography consciously or unconsciously do not want to know the truth. A history that is written without passion or prejudice is considered "dry reading." Men want something more than a mere narration of facts. Roman Catholics will not read Protestant histories, and vice versa. The people of the South do not want in their schools histories of the United States prepared by northern writers, and the same is true of the North in relation to the South. Most histories of Ireland written by Irishmen differ materially from those written by Englishmen. To some Frenchmen Napoleon is a hero who raised their country to the highest pinnacle of greatness it ever reached; to others he is a fiend incarnate who did irretrievable injury. Harrie's and Macaulay's Histories of England are read because they are attractive-

ly written; not because they are trustworthy. The same may be said of Prescott's works and of Motley's as well as of many others. Livy knew the public he was writing for and he shaped his narrative accordingly. So did Tacitus. Men are naturally prone to hero worship. This obscures the vision of both readers and writers to the faults of their fellow men. Dramatic effects are more sought after than facts. Nearly all of Macaulay's principal characters are either heroes or friends, as he depicts them, in spite of the potent experience that few persons are wholly good or wholly bad. It is not too much to say that the human race has been educated on fiction more or less founded on fact but falsely supposed to be history — a record of men's deeds and motives.

I have above spoken of the high reputation Tacitus bears among the historians of both ancient and modern times. There is reason to believe, that where his prejudices are not concerned, he tries honestly and conscientiously to set forth events as they actually took place. But he had his limitations, and they are of such a nature as to seriously impair his trustworthiness. He was a Roman, and like all Romans, exceedingly proud of his birth-right. He was an aristocrat and set great store by his social position. Being like Cicero a *novus homo* he exhibits the usual zeal and even bigotry of a new convert. He could not brook the humiliation put upon the optimates by some of the Roman emperors. In this light his works should be read. Let us examine some of his statements and insinuations. It will be seen that many of his inferences are not justified by circumstances, while in the assignment of motives he prefers an evil one when in many cases a good one is more probable. Of course, it is in most cases impossible to prove that he was wrong; the best we can do is to show that he was probably wrong and that a different interpretation is equally well founded, if not better. It will not be possible in a brief paper like this to examine his entire extant works, though they are not extensive, or even a considerable portion of them; there is room here only for a brief consideration of his treatment of Tiberius. We do not know any personal reason that led Tacitus to dislike this emperor; but when we remember how little is known about the life of the historian there is nothing surprising in this. But there is an infer-

ential reason that throws a great deal of light on the situation; it is the general attitude of the old aristocracy, whose champion Tacitus is, toward the principate. The Roman writers are in the habit of speaking of the Republic, and modern readers are apt to understand this word in its modern sense. Nothing is farther from the truth. Republicanism in ancient Rome meant no more than the equality of a small number of families who shared the offices, the emoluments and the official plunder of the provinces among themselves. But in time there were not offices enough to "go round," and the nobility fell to quarreling among themselves. Many of them got deeply into debt and resorted to desperate means to free themselves from their pecuniary obligations. The conspiracy of Catiline is a striking case in point. This led to relentless civil wars that more than once brought the empire to the brink of dissolution. Julius Cæsar, though generally regarded as the first Roman emperor, was in reality the champion of democratic principles. The provinces were always better off under the worst emperors than under the Republic. The optimates could not or would not see that they were their own worst enemies. They succeeded in getting Cæsar out of the way, but they did not change the conditions that made a monarch almost a necessity. They had to deal with a condition, not with a theory and they dealt with it from purely selfish motives. They concerned themselves little about the good of the country. The great mass of the people preferred the rule of one to the tyranny of a class. The optimates had sunk into immorality and corruption, the depth of which it is impossible for us to fathom and difficult to conceive. Yet as Livy says, the State could neither endure its ills nor their remedy; that is, it could not endure the wretched rule of the senatorial cliques, and the ruling class could not endure the reforms within itself that were absolutely essential to its continuance in power. The efforts of Cicero and a few like-minded men proved this almost to a demonstration. The tranquilizing rule of Augustus did much to reconcile the whole people to monarchy. They had no interest in the strifes of factions; they only wanted peace. Even those to whom such a government was distasteful on general principles, like the poet Horace, cheerfully

accepted it as the best settlement of the bitter quarrels that had so long and so grievously afflicted their country. But there were some irreconcilables, among them not a few who belonged to the literary class. These were always ready to remind their readers or hearers of the glorious days of the republic. Hence it is not surprising that some of the emperors thought best to silence them in the interests of political peace. It is this interdiction that Tacitus has in mind when he says [Agricola, Chapter. II]: "Not only against the authors themselves but against their books was the rage of the emperor directed, triumvirs having been ordered to burn in the comitium and the forum the monuments of distinguished men. \* \* \* Truly, we gave a remarkable example of patience; and just as our ancestors saw the utmost limits of liberty so we saw the narrowest restrictions imposed on the freedom of speech, even the privilege of talking and listening having been taken away by a system of espionage." But in Chapter XLII, he tells his readers that this remarkable patience is not necessarily evidence of cowardice. "Let those know," says one author, "who are wont to admire illegal acts, that there may be great men even under bad monarchs, and that obedience and modesty, when they are not lacking in activity and vigor, attain equal glory with those who seek celebrity by noisily courting a death that is of no advantage to the state." Evidently Tacitus thinks it better to submit to an overwhelming public sentiment than to strive by methods of doubtful utility to overthrow the existing government. With a change of dynasty came also liberty of speech as we are told in Chapter III; but he also tells us that with the enforced inactivity of fifteen years the leading spirits of Rome had learned to love the ease which at first they despised. In other words, when the optimates had no offices to quarrel about no provinces to plunder most of them preferred to do nothing. We may fitly compare our historian and those for whom he was the mouthpiece with those persons in the South in our own day, that either refuse altogether to be reconciled to the new order of things, or do so but slowly. The old political and social leaders who in their time had pretty much everything their own way, could not look with favor on the change of government that took the chief power

out of their hands. They continued to sigh for the "good old times," though they were good only to a small part of the population. As the march of events carried them farther and farther away from the condition of things to which they were so much attached, and showed more and more clearly that they could never return, their bitterness increased against those who were chiefly responsible for the new order of things. He seems at times to feel that his narrative of events may be too highly colored, so he takes the precaution to assure his readers in advance that he writes *sincera et studio*—without fear or favor. We may well ask whether in his case the French proverb may not prove true, "*qui s'excuse, s'accuse.*" And when he tells us that he had no cause to take sides for or against the emperors whom he so harshly portrays, he can only mean that neither he nor his friends had received any direct benefits or injuries from them. That it is not merely personal motives that influence writers of history for or against the characters they portray is proved by numerous examples. It is admitted by many that Thucydides is unfair in his treatment of Kleon. Readers of Macaulay will recall how severely he handles William Penn. Milford can see almost nothing that is good in the Athenian democracy; Grote little that is bad. The characters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and of Elizabeth, have been a fruitful source of controversy for more than two hundred years. Some of the leaders in the American Civil War have received widely divergent portrayals by different writers.

It cannot be denied that the Roman emperors were men of widely different merit, but we need to remember that with the exception of the few fiends incarnate, they all deserve to be judged by the times in which they lived. It is doubtful whether any one of them was as bad as we are wont to believe. Let us examine for a moment what Tacitus says regarding the death of his father-in-law, Agricola. The passage, somewhat abridged, reads: "During his whole sickness messengers from the court came oftener than was customary to make inquiry, either on account of solicitude or for espionage. It was known that the final stages of his death struggle were reported by couriers, no one believing that the emperor was so eager to hear what would be to him a

cause of sorrow. Nevertheless, he made an open pretence of grief both in conduct and looks, being now free from hate; besides, it was easier for him to conceal joy than fear." He also tells us that the almost universal sorrow over the untimely death of Agricola was augmented by the report that he had been poisoned, but that he could discover no foundation for such a rumor. We may well ask why Domitian should wish to poison a comparatively unimportant man who had always shown himself a loyal and obedient subject? Tacitus himself says that many attempts to arouse the emperor's suspicions against him were fruitless. If there was any basis for the rumor in regard to poison, it would doubtless have been easy to find it after the death of the tyrant.\* When Tacitus tells us that Agricola's wife never left his bedside during his last sickness, he puts before us the strongest evidence that all suspicion was baseless. If Domitian sent his freedmen and private physician to his sick-bed oftener than was his wont in similar cases, it ought not to have surprised any one if he was so distinguished a personage as Tacitus would have us believe. Tacitus will not even admit that the emperor's sorrow at the death of Agricola was sincere, but, as he does in many other instances, he attributes his open manifestation of grief to hypocrisy. How could he know what was in the mind of Domitian or of any one else, except in so far as his thoughts found expression in action? All experience proves that the worst men have their friends and their redeeming traits. Neither is the will of Agricola to be taken as evidence for that which Tacitus uses it. Under the preceding emperors it had been a common custom for loyal subjects to bequeath the whole or a part of their estates to the reigning monarch as a token of affection. The poet Horace was a conspicuous instance. Many similar cases are recorded under Tiberius, who, however, refused in every case to accept such bequests. Yet this same emperor is painted in blackest colors by our author.

\* Tacitus merely informs his readers that a rumor was current that Domitian poisoned Agricola. Dio Cassius relates it as a fact, though he wrote nearly one hundred years later. It was also reported that he had poisoned his brother Titus. This, Aurelius Victor, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century, sets down as a matter of history. Well might Virgil say:

Fama \* \*  
vires adquirit eunedo;  
Parva metu primo.

Domitian is usually represented as a tyrannical ruler, but it was the senatorial party that were the chief, in fact, almost the only, sufferers. They had themselves gradually brought about this attitude of the emperor toward them by engaging in plots and conspiracies against him during the course of his reign, one of which was finally successful—sufficient evidence that his harshness was justified by circumstances. Being thus at swords' points with the aristocracy and their friends, the philosophers, it is not surprising that they used their power and their pens to make his reputation as black as possible. For as Merivale truly says, it would be difficult for a ruler of later times to get an unprejudiced hearing at the hands of posterity who had incurred the ill-will of the aristocracy and the clergy. The same writer, in comparing Tacitus with Juvenal, remarks : " But, of the two, Tacitus is what has been called the *best hater*; he is blind in his prejudices ; the least various in his sympathies with human nature. Tacitus is an instance of what we regret sometimes to meet with among men of ability and experience, the increase with advancing years of bitterness, narrowness and intolerance. Like our own polished philosopher, Burke, Tacitus grows more acrid, more morbid in temper, even to the last." Accordingly, the Annals, the latest of his works, the most mature of his productions, is almost wholly satire.

It may be well to consider for a moment who Tiberius was and what some of the circumstances of his early life were ; for they doubtless had no little influence on his character. Tiberius Claudius Nero, Jr., as we should now write his name, was born in Rome, B. C. 41. His mother's name was Livia Drusilla. For reasons that need not concern us here, she became the wife of the Emperor Augustus during the lifetime of her husband, and her son, at the age of about four years, a member of the imperial family. In B. C. 12, Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, died, and Tiberius was compelled shortly after to marry his widow, although to do so he had to divorce his wife Vipsania, to whom he was ardently devoted. Not only was Julia a woman of unsavory reputation, but her two sons by her first husband were generally recognized as heirs to the throne. They habitually treated their step-father with slight regard, and at times with open contempt,

because he was not related by blood to the royal family. For a time he tried to make the best of the situation, but at length, finding it unendurable, he determined to retire to some place of solitude. He betook himself to the island of Rhodes where he remained seven years, forgotten by almost every one. But the death of both the grandsons of Augustus left Tiberius as the most direct heir to the throne. The emperor, accordingly, recalled him to Rome and designated him as his successor. Augustus, however, disliked him and seems to have taken the step very unwillingly. In order to compensate himself in some measure for the sacrifice, he compelled Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, his brother's son, and to designate him as his successor, though he had a son by his first wife, Vipsania, who was still living. We may readily suppose that the bitter experiences, that have been merely touched upon here, lasting through more than fifty years, had an unfavorable influence upon his character. While they do not justify any crime that he may have committed, they serve to explain his habitual reticence and the lack of straightforwardness in his dealings with men that his detractors, among whom we believe Tacitus to be one of the chief, have used so effectively to the detriment of his posthumous reputation. When Tiberius came to the throne he was fifty-five years old. He had been a diligent student of literature, and had had much experience in both civil and military affairs. It is fair to assume therefore that he knew the men with whom he had to deal, and that he judiciously adapted his conduct to the circumstances. Of this man Tacitus tells us it was reported that even during the years he had spent as an exile on the island of Rhodes in pretended retirement he had thought of nothing but vengeance, dissimulation and the secret gratification of his vices. We may well inquire how Tacitus or any one else could know what Tiberius meditated. He was, in fact, notorious for keeping his thoughts to himself. It is not surprising that rumors of this sort gained currency but it is surprising that a writer of sober history should think it worth while to record them, except to gratify his hatred. And as to the fear expressed in the same connection that the state would again be divided into factions, it was justified by experience only, not by the attitude of the two brothers toward each other; for

he tells us himself in Chapter XLIII that they lived in entire concord and paid no attention to the quarrels and dissensions of their adherents. Moreover, why should Germanicus be an object of solicitude to the new regent after everybody had taken the oath of allegiance? It is evident from Tacitus' own statement that Germanicus never wavered for a moment in his loyalty and that he used the report solely as an excuse for a fling at the emperor. It is well established that Tiberius was a man of keen understanding, sound judgment and little swayed by passion in anything he did. On this point we have a characteristic utterance from our author. After telling us how obsequious the senate had shown itself he proceeds to let us into the motives of the new emperor's deliberateness; they were not the dictates of prudence, but an inborn fondness for dissimulation. He further informs us that he kept in memory both words and looks for the purpose of distorting them into criminal accusations. He is also dissatisfied because a part of the army was present at the funeral of Augustus. Yet who could more appropriately assist in paying the last tribute to a great warrior than a body of soldiers? or who were more necessary than troops at a time when the most insignificant occurrence might have raised a tumult among the fickle rabble of the imperial city, augmented, doubtless, at this time by a large influx of the neighborhood?

How little credence ought to be placed on our author's insinuations and professed knowledge of motives, especially in the case of Augustus and Tiberius, becomes evident when we recall that he is describing events that occurred almost a hundred years previous. The only sources of information he could have were private letters and family traditions. We occasionally come across the tradition that President Harrison was poisoned at the instigation of southern "fire eaters" in order to make room for a man from their own section who was supposed to be more favorable to their designs. But I am not aware that this belief has anywhere found its way into sober history. How much credence would we attach to oral traditions that had been handed down from generation to generation about Thomas Jefferson or John Adams by their political opponents? Or would an unprejudiced man attach much importance to like

opinions, if he found them in private letters? Yet Tacitus occupies the position of a political opponent and we have almost no records by means of which we may view the circumstances in their true relations.

What Tacitus tells us regarding the conduct of Tiberius immediately after the death of Augustus is characteristic of his method of treatment of persons he disliked. The situation demanded the most cautious prudence. He was the first claimant to the principate who had not distinguished himself by the sword. That he did not take it for granted and proceed on the assumption that the Romans would without question or objection accept him as the successor of the great Augustus, is evidence of judicious foresight certainly, but not necessarily of dissimulation. And after everybody had taken the oath of allegiance, what ground was there to fear Germanicus? It is plain from what Tacitus himself tells us of this man that he would interpose no obstacle to his elevation. At the end of chapters X and XI we see to what lengths our historian proceeds to put Tiberius in the worst light possible, though he is hardly less severe upon him than upon his predecessor. It is scarcely possible to fathom the meanness of a ruler who would desire to be succeeded by a monster in order that by contrast his own reign might appear the more illustrious. Augustus was without doubt firmly convinced that the empire had reached its utmost limits; that his successors ought to content themselves with securing more firmly what had already been gained; and that to attempt additional conquests would be fraught with danger to the commonwealth. But our historian does not place before us this very reasonable view; he briefly tells us that it is uncertain whether advice of Augustus was dictated by fear or envy.\* But we have said enough for our present purpose. There is hardly a chapter in Tacitus, in which he attempts

\*A passage that is characteristic of Tacitean rhetoric occurs in Chapter VI. "*Facili immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres, ignobles, dispersi aut aggerati.*" The historian is speaking of an order sent to Rome by Tiberius that all who had been concerned in the conspiracy of Sejanus should be executed in one day. Yet Suetonius who is by no means favorably disposed to this emperor records that the greatest number of persons executed in one day was twenty. He says nothing about all ages; and as to the phrase *omnis sexus* it is hard to see how it could mean more than two. Nor is it easy to understand how a man who had been guilty of every form of personal immorality and political crime should be able to attain the age of nearly eighty years. The natural inference would be that his vices would have taken him off long before this, if his enemies did not, especially as the latter fate overtook so many of his successors.

to set forth motives, that is not open to suspicion. The reader who happens to be interested in an inquiry of this sort can easily verify this statement for himself. There is probably no other Roman historian in whose works the rhetorical element so greatly predominates; none who strives so constantly to make the bright as brilliant as possible, none who seems to take such pleasure in somber or black colors thickly laid on. He shows us clearly how to write histories and biographies that will be read, but not how to write them in the interest of truth, unless we take him as a warning example.

## Editorial Notes.

Entered at the Post Office at Athens, Ohio as second class matter—1894.

THE first number of the BULLETIN contains Malevolence in the Lower Animals, by Dr. J. E. LeRossignol.

The second number contains Recent Higher Education in France, by Dr. C. W. Super; and Some Observations Concerning the Blood of certain Vertebrates, by Professor H. E. Chapin.

The third contains the President's address before the Ohio College Association; subject, Translations, by Dr. Chas. W. Super.

The fourth contains The American Normal School, by Dr. J. P. Gordy; and On Teaching English, by Professor Willis Boughton. In addition to the larger articles each number contains editorial and personal notes. About a dozen copies of the series are still on hand and will be sent to subscribers to the second volume for thirty cents. The subscription price will remain as heretofore, fifty cents. Alumni, former students, and all friends of the University are requested to send in their subscriptions. The amount is only a trifle, but please remember, "many a little makes a mickle." There are many persons who have no interest in the institution from which the BULLETIN emanates, but who may be interested in the contents of the periodical. To such we extend a

cordial invitation to send in their subscriptions. It will be the earnest endeavor of the editorial management to procure articles for future numbers that will be no less valuable than those in the past have been.

THE admirable article by Professor Boughton in our last issue sets forth clearly the difficulties that lie in the way of teachers of English. No doubt much can be done to improve the general character of our speech among those who are reared amid surroundings unfavorable to its correct use, but we doubt very much whether it will ever be possible to make it more homogeneous than it is at present. It seems to us that the whole trend of English speech is against it. We have already several kinds of American English, of British English, and we shall doubtless soon have an Australasian English in several varieties. We are inclined to believe that no modern language is so hard to teach. The Anglo-Saxon people are proverbially restive under authority. They often prefer a worse thing merely because a better has been urged upon them or prescribed for them. Witness our clumsy orthography. We would rather spell badly than adopt a new and easy system. We will not adopt the metric system, notwithstanding its great convenience, for the sole reason, apparently, that all scientific men recommend it. The English are pushing their commercial conquests in every direction, but they will not give up their clumsy pounds, shillings and pence. They certainly will not consent to be bound by authority in a matter that seems to most people of so little importance as their speech. Even the French, much as they are given to hero-worship, do not all conform to the dictionary of their Academy. The Germans, though occupying but a small portion of the earth's surface, have met with little success in their efforts to establish a uniform spelling and pronunciation. The

dictionary makers can not prevent the introduction, into current speech, of words that are neither elegant nor correct. Some of these, in spite of their ignoble origin, are expressive and people will use them. Dictionaries are consulted to ascertain the meaning of words, not whether they are sanctioned by good usage. So long as this is the case we must expect them to be as full as possible.

Current speech is always recruited from beneath. The phraseology of science, usually the coinage of the learned, gains general acceptance very slowly; much of it not at all. This is the history of all languages. The writers of the Augustan age were powerless to establish a usage for their successors. In less than a hundred years after their time Latin had undergone marked changes. The common people were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the modification. The Latin of Christianity is almost a new language; the new ideas necessitating new words and new meanings. The Greek of the New Testament differs widely from the Greek of the classical era and even from that of contemporary profane writers. Classic speech is always aristocratic; it is the mode of expression of those who think in contradistinction to the multitude who give utterance to their feelings and impulses on the spur of the moment. Here, as in the State, democratic influences are constantly gaining in power. On the other hand the spread of general intelligence operates powerfully to check the degradation of a language. Herein lies the hope of the future. It is safe to predict that the time is not far distant when even the English of the country newspaper will be at least grammatically correct. Their editors will learn that *done* is a participle and must not be used alone with a subject; that a *clique* and a *click* are not the same thing; that there are no such verbs as *to Sunday*, *to Saturday*; together with a large number of other things they do not yet know.

A RECENT issue of the *Christian Education* contains the following: "The idea prevalent in some private 'Normal Colleges' that there is a royal road to learning, has taken root in many young minds; the idea of this short cut, quick time, rapid transit, is so firmly held by many young people that even a two-years' course is too much for them." The writer is speaking more particularly of Indiana, but his remarks are by no means applicable to that State alone. It is the bane of our education from one end of the country to the other. Many young people are early thrust out into life by the exigencies of their situation in order to make their way in the world as best they can; but there are many more who are lured into taking a short course by the reiterated assurance that it is just as good as a long one. It is so in law, in medicine, in theology. Many never find out their mistake at all; others will not admit it from a false feeling of pride; others again only discover that they have been deluded after it is too late to repair their mistake. In some States even the public Normal Schools cater to this pernicious sentiment and send forth annually a large crop of graduates whose chief equipment for life is a big stock of vanity. For lo! have they not earned a diploma? And do they not know pretty much everything worth knowing? The real friends of education and of the inexperienced are slowly moulding public opinion to a true estimate of these educational quackeries; but they will always find willing or unconscious dupes in large numbers. We do not doubt in the least that if an institution were to be started which should promise to give in a single year a more thorough education than any college can in four or five years some thousands of young people from Ohio alone would make haste to enter it.

SOME of the best friends of the University have expressed the opinion that it is

too slow, too solid, too dignified, too German, not French enough. We are ready to admit that there is some truth in the criticism. The Faculty are quite willing that their work should be marked by its solid, rather than its showy character. The substantial only is permanent. It is this alone that wins in the end. The French themselves are coming to recognize and admit the superior quality of German scholarship. We prefer to let our work speak for itself, rather than the newspapers. To those who look at the surface only all State and undenominational institutions are at a disadvantage as compared with the denominational. It is a part of the business of the various church papers to keep their schools constantly before their readers. If any of their professors is honored in any way the fact is heralded far and wide. But let the same thing happen to a man or woman not so related, and it passes comparatively unnoticed. During the summer months the denominational papers have much to say about the excellence of the educational institutions managed under the auspices of their church. These encomiums are so much alike that with a change of name any one could be substituted for any other. Is the public to assume, then, that there is no difference; that the endowed are equally good with the unendowed? Are we to suppose that the recipient of a degree from a denominational institution is more honored than if he obtained the same from one of the historic universities of the world? The writer recently took occasion to look into the origin of a number of reports from visiting committees and found that a majority of them emanated from persons who themselves had had only the meagerest collegiate training, or none at all. Evidently the intrinsic value of such reports is small. During the past few years the O. U. has promised to confer the degree of Ph. D. on persons who should prove themselves

worthy of it. A considerable proportion of our candidates have been rejected on the grounds of insufficient scholarship. Of course, the names are not made public. Yet it is a fact that nearly every one of our rejected candidates has turned up with the desired degree from some denominational institution. They are welcome, thrice welcome, to their honors. They but serve to justify us in the position we have taken in regard to such matters. In this connection we may appropriately call to the minds of our readers the fable of the Lion and the Hare. Although the lion brings forth but a single young one a year and the hare two or three broods, one lion is of more consequence than a whole year's crop of hares. When it is remembered that a majority of our Faculty have been students at, or have received degrees from, universities of national and international reputation, it will hardly be charged against them that they do not know what is meant by higher education. There are some things in education that we can not do, and these we do not profess to do. In some departments our equipment is not easily surpassed. If we do not claim to be among the leaders in every department of human knowledge, it is because we know our limitations and are not ashamed to admit them. We submit whether it is not better to "let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger and not thine own lips." Newspaper men tell us that all one need do to fill up a school or college is to advertise liberally. Doubtless they speak from experience. Those who have been with us and have learned from us, can testify of our good works. We have abundant evidence that they are doing so. Such testimony only is of real value; not printers' ink. Merit will tell in the end, and it is to the verdict of time that we confidently appeal.

M. W. HENSEL, '93, has been re-elected at Blissfield, Mich., with an increased salary.

## Personal Notes.

MISS BERTHA MCVAY, '93, will be one of the teachers in the East Liverpool High School next year.

CHARLES BROOKOVER, '94, has a position as teacher of Mathematics and Science in an Academy in Eureka, Kansas.

WILLIAM E. BUNDY, '86, was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Sons of Veterans at their recent encampment in Davenport, Iowa.

Of the recent graduates in the short pedagogical course, Miss Cullums, Miss Garber and Mr. Dixon will teach in Athens County. Mr. Nunemaker has a school in Hocking County.

JUDGE JOHN E. HANNA of McConnellsville, a trustee of the O. U. since '54, died on the 30th of August. At the time of his death he was the oldest lawyer in active practice in the State.

PROFESSOR GORDY filled institute engagements during the summer in the following counties: Morgan, Perry, Allen and Ashland. He was compelled to refuse a number of applications.

CHARLES PLATT, PH. D., '93, has recently been elected Professor of Chemistry in the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia. During the summer vacation he visited the British Isles.

PROFESSOR BOUGHTON spent the last week of the vacation, doing institute work, in Pike County. The first month he had charge of the summer school at Epworth Heights, near Cincinnati.

LUCIEN J. FENTON, a student at the University some years ago, and at present one of its trustees, was recently nominated for Congress, after a spirited contest, to succeed the Hon. H. S. Bundy, also a trustee.

H. W. COULTRAP, '71, was recently nominated for the position of Common Pleas Judge, for the district embracing a number of counties in southeastern Ohio. The contest was a long one and almost to the last the issue was doubtful. Mr. Coultrap bears an excellent reputation as a lawyer and will make a just judge. His brother F. S., '75, is Superintendent of the Nelsonville schools.

MISS L. E. MICHAEL, '84, has recently been appointed Principal of the High School at Goshen, Ind. She has been a teacher in the schools at that place for several years, and her work is highly spoken of.

C. G. MATHEWS, B. S., '93, M. S. '94, has been elected Principal of the High School of Vancouver, Wash. Mr. Mathews made a very high record in his studies and will doubtless prove an efficient teacher.

PROFESSOR CHAPIN spent most of the summer vacation at Cold Spring Harbor on Long Island, engaged in biological work in connection with Dr. Conn. Professor Hoover, as usual, taught Mathematics at Chautauqua.

AN exchange says that Charles F. Blake, '91, and later a graduate of the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons, has recently been promoted to the position of resident physician of the Baltimore City Hospital.

J. CHASE DOWD, a former student who last year taught in the public schools of McArthur, has recently been elected to a more lucrative position in Franklin County. He expects to finish his college course in the near future.

PROFESSOR EVANS and Professor Coler, '82, conducted the Athens County Institute. Professor Coler was for several years a member of the Faculty of the Ohio State University, but has recently accepted a position in one of the Wisconsin State Normal Schools.

E. K. BROSE, for some years a student at the University, died at his home near Georgetown, Ohio, on the 29th of June. He was a young man of much intellectual ability, endowed with an amiable disposition, and gave great promise of future usefulness. His premature death is a loss to the college and the community.

ALBERT LEONARD, '88, who was for several years Principal of the High School in Dunkirk, N. Y., and last year held a similar position in Binghamton, where he was voted a large increase of salary for the coming year, recently received the honorary degree of Ph. D. from Hamilton college. We congratulate Dr. Leonard on this unsolicited and unsought honor.

JOHN A. SHOTT, '92, who has been for two years one of the professors in the Lebanon Valley College, has been granted leave of absence during part of the coming year, and will spend the time in post-graduate work at the O. U.

SUPERINTENDENTS Cookson of Shawnee, DeLong of Corning, Humphrey of Middleport, Touill of Jeffersonville, Waltermire of North Baltimore, and Professor Holcomb of Amity College, Iowa, were among the special students in Chemistry during the summer term at the University.

CHARLES S. ASHTON, '93, had charge of the schools of Bryant, South Dakota, last year, and will continue in the same position the coming year. Bryant is the largest town in Hamlin County. Mr. Ashton intends to conduct an educational paper in connection with his school duties. The first number has just been issued.

DR. LERROSSIGNOL, who was granted leave of absence during the whole, or at least part, of the present year, will spend his time in Denver teaching in the University there. His experience in Colorado taught him that its climate is well suited to the present condition of his health.

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